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We hear people say that the days of miracles are past. The age of miracles has not commenced. If by miracle we mean some overturning by God of laws that God has made, then I do not believe that there ever was or ever will be a miracle; but if we mean the restoring of the divine order in place of the present confusion and chaos, then has the day of miracles not commenced. The Christian is one who knows in his own soul that the time shall come when the glorious life of the Eternal God shall reign upon an earth to which heaven has come down, when heaven and earth have been brought together in one. I believe that when those who bear the name of Jesus are willing to do as Jesus did; when there shall be men banded together for the purpose of fellowship in righteousness; when all lawyers and courts shall be redeemers of men as God intended them to be; when all governments shall be simply the fellowship of men in the endeavor to complete the work of Jesus Christ; then I believe that we will find that the savages of earth are only savage because their fellows have shown so much barbarism towards them; I believe we will find the wild beasts are wild because man is fierce; I believe that we will find that the venom will be drawn from the serpent's fang and all malice drawn from the lion's tooth. And the lion shall lie down with the lamb, and a little child shall lead them. All the vegetable creation shall be touched by the touch of love, which is the touch of life. And the trees of the field shall clap their hands and sing for joy; and the wilderness shall rejoice and blossom as the rose, and all the barren rocks shall become fertile at the touch of God. For "the whole creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same, in hope that even the creation itself should be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glory of the liberty of the children of God. And the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God." And I want to be one of them.

PUBLIC OPINION AND WAR.

BY JUDGE ROBERT EARL.

Address at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, June 5.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Public opinion rules the world, and until we have cultivated a public opinion which demands imperiously the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, it will not come. Our aim therefore should be, in our own country and in all lands, to cultivate a public sentiment that demands the cessation of war, the disarmament of nations, and the settlement of international disputes by some international tribunal. I have observed that the spirit of militarism and "jingoism" is more rampant, notwithstanding all efforts in the direction of peace, in our own country than it has been in my day before, except during the

war. We see its manifestations on all hands. Recently statesmen and newspapers gave utterances favorable to the taking of the Hawaiian Islands, even if we came into conflict with other nations. More recently, when a Spanish war vessel fired into one of our merchant vessels, statesmen, newspapers and politicians were ready at once to wage war with Spain, and if necessary to seize the island of Cuba and annex it to this country. Still later when Great Britain sent her vessels to Central America and landed her troops upon the soil of Nicaragua, statesmen and newspapers urged our government to send on vessels to prevent the proceeding by force.

Again, there is the demand which has been made for several years that our navy be largely increased. Every time a great war vessel is launched there is glorification all over the country. We have no use for a great navy, except to send our officers around the world with chips on their shoulders, provoking quarrels instead of settling them. We need a navy for the purpose of protecting us, not against the strong nations of the earth, but against the weak republics of the South, who are sometimes unable to preserve order themselves, and to protect our property in their waters or the lives of our citizens there. We also hear now and then that our army ought to be largely increased, to make it worthy of a great republic like ours. What do we want with an army? No nation, I am very confident, will ever attack this country. We should not be called upon to bear the expense and the demoralization of sustaining a large army in anticipation of any conflict in the remote future. We do want an army for police purposes, to protect us against anarchists and other disorderly elements at home, and to keep the Indians in order; but beyond that we have no need of an army. I think the friends of peace should set their faces against an increase in the navy and in the army, or the building up in this country of a great naval and military power.

Thousands of years ago, warlike people worshipped warlike gods, and deified their military heroes. We are doing very much the same thing. North and South, in all large cities, in public squares, monuments are erected to military men, and very few to the men who have achieved great success in civil life—very few to philanthropists, to benefactors. We have been engaged for many years in making pets of all the men, good and bad, who were engaged on the side of the North in the war of the Rebellion. We have given them pensions unparalleled in the history of the world; they are entitled to the best places in public life; they get most votes when they run for office. We have days set apart for the purpose of cultivating this spirit. We have a law in the State of New York requiring that flags shall be raised over the schoolhouses, so that children may imbibe the military spirit by looking at this emblem. And a movement has recently been set on foot to have mili-

tary drill taught in our public schools, on the express ground that as the old soldiers pass away they should leave behind them some men qualified to fight. We cannot condemn all these things nor can we change them. I simply speak of them to show that there is a great deal to foster the military spirit which has been rampant for some years.

To counteract this spirit we must do all that we can to make our nation a peaceful nation, opposed to war, in favor of settling disputes by international arbitration.

Another thing we ought to do is to promote commerce between nations. Commerce is a great civilizer, and nothing so binds nations together as unrestricted trade. In early days every nation was arrayed against every other nation, ready to fight, ready to do all the injury possible by restrictions upon trade. That is gradually being changed, and it should be completely changed. For the present, probably, we must erect tariff barriers, but the time will come when trade and commerce will be as free as between the States of this country; and then war will be utterly impossible, because the nations will be so dependent upon each other. A distinguished senator of the United States said many years ago, "Commercial dependence is the greatest security for national independence."

How are we to accomplish this? We have first to cultivate public sentiment against war, and in favor of what we have called arbitration. Arbitrators are not necessarily temporarily appointed for a particular case; we have had in some states permanent boards of arbitration, and so there might be a permanent board of international arbitration. The first thing will be the settlement of individual cases; the two nations having a dispute, first having tried diplomacy, may submit their difference to a temporary court of arbitration. By this system the public mind is educated, and nations get used to the idea. In process of time, the thing to be aimed at is a permanent board of arbitration, or a permanent court for the arbitration of international disputes. I apprehend, however, that before that is reached a great many difficulties will have to be surmounted. It would probably be necessary to bring in nearly all the civilized nations of the earth, and there will be disputes about representation,—whether the smaller powers should have the same representation as the larger powers—disputes more difficult, as between the nations, than the disputes which almost wrecked the efforts to form a constitution for this country. Yet I have the greatest faith that, under the improvement in the public conscience which must be accomplished by the moral and religious forces which are now at work, this great tribunal will at some time be erected.

Some one has suggested the difficulty of enforcing the judgments of such a tribunal. I apprehend there will not be the least difficulty. In the seventy-nine or eighty

cases already referred to, every award has been practically approved and carried out; that shows that public sentiment presses upon the nations so that they do not dare to disregard the decision. But suppose any nation should refuse to obey the award? No judgment can be entered in such a tribunal as we are talking about. But its decision can be enforced as we would enforce a judgment against an individual. If an individual refuses to pay, his property is seized, or even his person. If any nation should so refuse, the other nations which are combined in favor of settling disputes in that way can enforce the award by seizing property, if necessary, by force of arms; and this would not be war in the sense in which war is waged now.

I conclude by saying, let us show through all the organs of our national life that we are a nation of peace, and thus lead the way in the pacification of the nations.

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT, JULY 8.

WITH PREAMBLE AND ADDRESS OF THE MOVERS.

PROPOSITION.

To invite the government to negotiate as soon as possible the conclusion of a permanent treaty of arbitration between the French republic and the republic of the United States of America.

(Made special.)

Presented by MM. Barodet, Charles Beauquier, Montaut (Seine-et-Marne), Félix Mathé, Henry Maret, Camille Pelletan, Mesureur, Gustave Rivet, Victor Leydet, Jules Seigfried, de La Batut, Jacques, Louis Million, Bovier-Lapierre, Lagnel, Victor Poupin, Guillemaut, Farjon, Antide Boyer, Fernand Rabier, Pajot, Magnien, Bourgeois (Jura), Alfred Leconte, Frebault, Hubbard Crémieux, Guillemet, Michou, Gillot, Jouffray, Genet, Lesage, Baulard, Cornudet, and Chavoix.

EXPLANATION OF THE OBJECTS.

Messrs.,—On the 24th of April, 1888, Frederic Passy, a deputy, and a large number of his colleagues, presented to the Chamber a proposition tending to the conclusion of a permanent treaty of arbitration between the French republic and the republic of the United States of America.

This is the proposition, which received the unanimous approval of all of the committees of the Chamber, but which, on account of some trouble in the interior at the time, which no person has forgotten, could not be discussed at that time, which we take up again to-day.

France, gentlemen, is not ignorant of the fact, that in the actual situation of Europe she cannot dispense with keeping up for her protection a military force at least equal to that of the best armed nation. She has consented without a murmur to all the sacrifices which this situation has imposed upon her; but, without renouncing any